

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 JAKARTA 15938

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, SHUM, ID

SUBJECTC HUMAN RIGHTS IN INDONESIA: NEXT STEPS

REF: STATE 297307(NOTAL)

1. NOW THAT GOI HAS TAKEN STEP OF ANNOUNCING "RELEASE" OF THOSE DETAINEES UNDER 1965 EMERGENCY DECREE, WE ARE SEEKING TO ASSESS EXACTLY WHAT IS MEANT BY "RELEASE" AND WHAT FUTURE ACTION ON OUR PART WILL BE APPROPRIATE.

2. FROM MY CONVERSATIONS WITH ADMIRAL SUDOMO AND OTHER INDONESIAN SOURCES, FROM CONVERSATIONS RECENTLY HELD BY RABBI MOWSHOWITZ AND CONGRESSMAN JEFFORDS AND FROM REPORTS OF DIPLOMATIC COLLEAGUES, WE CONCLUDE THAT GOI IS SINCERE IN SEEKING TO END DETENTION OF LARGE NUMBER OF PRISONERS BUT THAT MANY WILL UNDOUBTEDLY CONTINUE UNDER RESTRICTED REGIME FROM SOME YEARS TO COME.

3. HOPEFULLY, BY REDUCING NUMBER IN A CATEGORY AND EXPEDITING TRIALS OF REMAINDER, GOI CAN, WITHIN DESIGNATED TWO-YEAR PERIOD, ELIMINATE THIS PART OF PROBLEM.

4. ADMIRAL SUDOMO IS MORE SILENT ON STATUS AND FUTURE OF X CATEGORY WHICH NOW NUMBERS MORE THAN 2000. THESE ARE PERSONS ARRESTED DURING PAST TEN YEARS UNDER 1965 EMERGENCY LEGISLATION WHO HAVE NOT YET BEEN PLACED IN EITHER A, B, OR C CATEGORY. WE HAVE RELATIVELY LITTLE INFORMATION ON
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WHO THESE PEOPLE ARE OR ON WHETHER THEIR ACTIVITIES WERE

INDEED DIRECTLY RELATED TO 1965-66 EVENTS. WE HAVE HINTS, BUT NO INFORMATION ON NUMBERS OF SUSPECTED MILITARY ALSO UNDER DETENTION.

5. CLASS B CATEGORY WILL CONTINUE TO PRESENT MIXED PICTURE. WE HAVE INDEPENDENT CONFIRMATION THAT PERSONS FROM THE 2500 RELEASED LAST MONTH DID INDEED RETURN TO THEIR FAMILIES. WHAT PROPORTION WE CANNOT SAY. ADMIRAL SUDOMO, IN RESPONSE TO MY QUESTION REGARDING CONDITIONS OF RELEASE OF CATEGORY B DETAINEES, MENTIONED PROGRESSIVE CATEGORIES OF REHABILITATION CURRENTLY BEING EMPLOYED AT BURU ISLAND AND SAID THESE WOULD BE APPLIED TO OTHER DETENTION AREAS. PACE AT WHICH DETAINEE PROCEEDS THROUGH THESE STEPS DEPENDS ON HIM. STEPS ARE: (1) PRISONER, (2) RE-EDUCATION, (3) VOCATIONAL TRAINING, (4) ACCEPTANCE BY SOCIETY (THIS PRESUMABLY REFERS TO DETAINEE'S ASSURANCE OF LOYALTY TO PANCASILA AND REGIME), AND (5) RETURN OR TRANSMIGRATION. ACCORDING TO ADMIRAL, EXACT CIRCUMSTANCES OF STEP 5 DEPEND ON DETAINEE'S EMPLOYMENT POSSIBILITIES, EXISTENCE OF FAMILY, AND GENERAL ATTITUDE.

6. FROM THIS IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT GOVERNMENT WILL CONTINUE TO BALANCE ITS CONTINUING CONCERNS OVER POSSIBLE SECURITY RISK OF RELEASING INDIVIDUALS AND DESIRE TO COMPLETE ALL STEPS OF RELEASE. OUR IMPRESSION IS THAT BULK OF CLASS B CATEGORY WILL ULTIMATELY BE RESETTLED IN TRANSMIGRATION AREAS UNDER CONTINUED SURVEILLANCE AND PAROLE CONDITIONS. TRAVEL TO OTHER PARTS OF INDONESIA, INCLUDING JAVA, WILL BE ON CASE BY CASE BASIS. INTELLECTUALS, WHO ARE OBVIOUSLY HARDEST HIT BY DETENTION CIRCUMSTANCES, WILL PROBABLY CONTINUE TO BE AMONG MOST CLOSELY CONTROLLED.

7. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, WHAT SHOULD OUR POSTURE BE? WE SUGGEST:

A. WE CAN APPROPRIATELY WELCOME STEPS WHICH GOI HAS TAKEN TO IMPROVE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION. IN OFFICIAL CONVERSATIONS WE CAN CONTINUE TO EXPRESS OUR INTEREST AND OUR UNDERSTANDING OF THEIR PROBLEM. AT SAME TIME WE CAN REMIND THEM THAT, TO MEET FULLY PROBLEMS OF WORLD PUBLIC OPINION, ULTIMATELY THEY WILL NEED TO GRANT RIGHT OF TRIAL OR GENUINE FREEDOM TO INDIVIDUALS CONCERNED.

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B. IN OUR REPORTS TO CONGRESS WE CAN REPORT FACTUALLY STEPS TAKEN; WE CAN INDICATE, WITHOUT BEING SPECIFIC AS TO SOURCES, THAT SOME RELEASES HAVE BEEN CONFIRMED, AND STATE THAT WE ARE CONTINUING TO WATCH UNFOLDING PROCESS. AT SAME TIME WE CAN PROPERLY CONTINUE TO STRESS THAT THE 1965-66 EVENTS WERE UNIQUE AND THAT RESULTS DO NOT SUGGEST "CONSISTENT VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS."

C. DESPITE OTHER HIGHER ESTIMATES OF NUMBER OF

DETAINEES(SUCH AS AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL) WE CAN, I BELIEVE, ACCEPT AS ACCURATE, FIGURES GIVEN TO US BY ADMIRAL SUDOMO AND REPORTED IN EARLIER CABLE.

D. WE SHOULD AVOID, HOWEVER, ANY SUGGESTIONS THAT RECENT DECISIONS OF GOVERNMENT OF INDONESIA PRESAGE CONCLUSION OF DETAINEE PROBLEM IN MANNER TOTALLY CONSISTENT WITH OUR CONCEPT OF FREEDOM.

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8. TWO ITEMS HAVE BEEN RAISED WITH ME IN PASSING BY ADMIRAL SUDOMO INVOLVING OUR DIRECT ASSOCIATION WITH THIS PROBLEM: (A) ADMIRAL SUDOMO HAS SUGGESTED THAT SOMETIME IN JANUARY HE WISHES TO ARRANGE A VISIT BY CHIEFS OF MISSION OF FRIENDLY COUNTRIES TO BURU ISLAND; (B) ADMIRAL SUDOMO HAS MENTIONED TO ME AND TO AMBASSADOR JALINK OF NETHERLANDS THAT FINANCIAL LIMITATIONS REPRESENT MAJOR OBSTACLE TO EARLY CONCLUSION OF PLANS FOR RELEASE OF CLASS B DETAINEES. SUGGESTION WAS CLEAR THAT IF FRIENDLY GOVERNMENTS WISHED TO ASSIST IN FINANCING TRANSMIGRATION RESETTLEMENT AREAS, SUCH AID WOULD BE WELCOME.

9. IN CONNECTION WITH VISIT TO BURU ISLAND, I HAVE TOLD ADMIRAL SUDOMO THAT I THOUGHT THAT MIGHT CREATE SOME PROBLEMS FOR ME AND I WOULD HOPE WE COULD DISCUSS IDEA BEFORE FINAL DECISION MADE. AMBASSADOR JALINK AND AMBASSADOR FELLER OF SWITZERLAND SHARE WITH ME CONCERN THAT SUCH VISIT RISKS PUBLIC SUGGESTION THAT WE SOMEHOW ENDORSE CURRENT ACTIVITIES ON BURU ISLAND AND AGREE WITH DETAILS OF STEPS BEING TAKEN IN FUTURE. AMBASSADOR MULLER OF GERMANY, WHO UNDER IN-

STRUCTIONS DID NOT ATTEND RECENT RELEASE CEREMONY, BELIEVES HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT PERMIT PARTICIPATION IN SUCH EVENT. UNLESS DEPARTMENT INSTRUCTS OTHERWISE, I WILL CONTINUE DISCOURAGE IDEA. ALTERNATIVES ARE TO ENCOURAGE ADMIRAL SUDOMO TO HAVE TOUR BY LOCAL CORRESPONDENTS FOREIGN PRESS OR, IF HE WISHES DIPLOMATIC INVOLVEMENT, BY POLITICAL COUNSELORS OF EMBASSIES IN JAKARTA.

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10. I ASSUME ALSO THAT GIVEN RESTRICTIVE NATURE OF FUTURE RESETTLEMENT WE WOULD NOT WISH TO CONSIDER FINANCIAL AID TO SUCH PROJECTS EVEN THOUGH SUCH HELP MIGHT EXPEDITE RELEASE AS INDONESIA DEFINES THAT TERM.

11. SISTER INEZ BRAUN OF THE FRANCISCAN SISTERS OF MARY, WHO RUNS ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR DETAINEES AND THEIR FAMILIES AND HAS BEEN AN IMPORTANT EMBASSY CONTACT FOR INFORMATION ON THIS MATTER, HAS APPROACHED USAID FOR ASSISTANCE IN GETTING EMERGENCY FUNDS TO PROVIDE FOOD AND CLOTHING TO NEEDY LOCAL RELEASEES. IMMEDIATE NEEDS MAY BE PARTIALLY MET BY LOCAL REPRESENTATIVE OF U.S. VOLUNTARY AGENCIES, BUT WE WOULD APPRECIATE DEPARTMENT'S SUGGESTIONS ON POSSIBLE OTHER U.S. SOURCES (INCLUDING OFFICIAL SOURCES) FOR HELP OF THIS NATURE. THIS MIGHT BE MORE FITTING AREA FOR DISCREET U.S. HELP THAN RESETTLEMENT CAMPS.

12. I AM DEEPLY GRATEFUL FOR COMMENTS IN PARA 2 OF REFTEL. WHAT HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED HERE HAS BEEN MADE POSSIBLE BY INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT'S OWN SENSITIVITY TO HUMAN AND INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF PROBLEM. UNDOUBTEDLY INTERNATIONAL ENCOURAGEMENT HAS HELPED THEM TO REACH THIS CONCLUSION. SYMPATHETIC UNDERSTANDING IN DEPARTMEN HAS ALSO BEEN OF GREAT HELP IN ENABLING US TO PURSUE ISSUE HERE. FINALLY, WE HAVE ALL BEEN HELPED BY HIGHLY SKILLFUL PROFESSIONAL EFFORTS IN THIS AREA BY NETHERLANDS AMBASSADOR JALINK WHOSE TASK IS IN MANY WAYS MORE DIFFICULT THAN OURS.
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